

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6192  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 902

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SF, OVIP, (YOUNG, ANDREW)  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: OPINIONS ON AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA VARY IN BOTH THE BLACK AND WHITE COMMUNITIES. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME DISSENTING OPINIONS, BLACKS AS A WHOLE SAW VISIT AS MORALE BOOSTER AND POSITIVE INDICATOR OF USG CONCERN. WHITES ARE MORE DIVIDED. LIBERALS FOUND COMFORT IN YOUNG'S REASONABLE APPROACH AND HIS VIEWS ON NON-VIOLENT EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE. VERLIGTE AFRIKANERS SAW MERIT IN APPROACH THAT APPLIED PRESSURES ON BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS BUT WERE TAKEN ABACK BY WHAT THEY SAW AS YOUNG'S "NAIVE" PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS. HARD-LINE CONSERVATIVES WERE INCENSED AT THEIR VIEW OF HIS MISUNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION AND HOSTILE SENTIMENTS TOWARDS WHITES. THE SAG SEEMS TO HAVE DECIDED THAT  
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YOUNG REPRESENTS MOST BIASED ASPECT TO USG OVERTURES FOR CHANGE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE VISIT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO SOUTH AFRICA, FOLLOWING ON THE HEELS OF MONDALE/VORSTER MEETING, RAISED GREAT INTEREST THROUGHOUT COUNTRY. SIZE OF SAMPLING OF COMMUNITY'S PERSONALITIES AND LEADERS WITH

WHOM YOUNG MET, AS WELL AS BROAD PRESS AND, TO LESSER EXTENT, MEDIA COVERAGE OF VISIT, ENSURED THAT IMPACT OF VISIT WAS MAXIMIZED. OPINIONS HAVE DIFFERED WIDELY, NOT JUST BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE, BUT WITHIN THESE GROUPS, AS TO USEFULNESS AND MEANING OF VISIT. BECAUSE OF DIVERSITY OF THESE OPINIONS, THEY WILL BE PRESENTED IN FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, NONE OF WHICH CAN BE TAKEN AS ALL INCLUSIVE.

3. WHITES: ONE GENERAL IMPRESSION HELD IN WHITE COMMUNITY SEEMS TO BE THAT YOUNG IS SINCERE AND DEDICATED SPOKESMAN RELAYING HIGH-LEVEL MESSAGE, WHETHER LIKED OR NOT, FROM US ADMINISTRATION. WHATEVER POLITICAL STRIPE OF OBSERVER, WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN VISIT SERIOUSLY AND DRAWN FROM IT IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS PART OF NEW USG OUTLOOK TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. FOR MANY, PERSONAL CONTACT SERVED TO COUNTER NEGATIVE IMAGE BASED ON PRIOR, GENERALLY UNFAVORABLE, TREATMENT IN LOCAL PRESS. AS DIRECTOR OF CAPE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PUT IT IN NOTICE SENT TO ALL MEMBERS INVITING THEM TO VIEW A VIDEO-TAPE PRESENTATION OF YOUNG SPEECH TO BUSINESSMEN: "MR. YOUNG SHOWED BY THIS ADDRESS THAT HE HAS A KEEN INTELLECT... AND IS WELL INFORMED ON SOUTH AFRICA...HE EARNED FOR HIMSELF A GREAT DEAL MORE RESPECT THAN MANY MAY EARLIER HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO GRANT HIM."

A. ENGLISH SPEAKING LIBERALS: REACTION HAS BEEN MOSTLY FAVORABLE. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DISCUSSION, IN BOTH ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS AND AMONGST ENGLISH SPEAKING LIBERAL CONTACTS, OF SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF YOUNG APPROACH, CONFIDENTIAL

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WITH SOME PARTICULAR CRITICISM OF CORRELATION MADE BETWEEN AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN RACE PROBLEMS, OVERALL FEELING HAS BEEN THAT YOUNG IS SPEAKING FOR AMERICA AND SIGNALS ARE CLEAR THAT CHANGE IS NEEDED. APPRECIATION IS EXPRESSED FOR FACT THAT YOUNG IS SYMPATHETIC TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND DID NOT ATTEMPT TO THREATEN SAG OVER NEED FOR CHANGE. NEVERTHELESS, MESSAGE IS CLEAR THAT AMERICA IS DEDICATED TO ENCOURAGING CHANGE AND, EVEN IF AVENUES OF THAT CHANGE CANNOT OR WILL NOT BE PRECISELY AS OUTLINED BY YOUNG, DIRECTION OF IT MUST SOON BE POSITIVELY DEFINED OR RELATIONSHIP WITH US WILL SUFFER. SOME OBSERVERS IN THIS GROUP VIEWED YOUNG'S EFFORTS HERE AS NEW ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH "RAPPORT" WITH BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS AND TO REACH OUT TO THOSE WHITES WHO DESIRE TO MOVE AWAY FROM DISCRIMINATION. PERSONALLY YOUNG CAME ACROSS TO THIS GROUP AS SINCERE, KNOWLEDGEABLE AND DEDICATED SPOKESMAN FOR USG. HIS PERSONAL STYLE AND APPROACH WERE SUBJECT OF MUCH FAVORABLE COMMENT. ONE PARTICIPANT IN PRIVATE MEETING WITH WITS STUDENTS

DESCRIBED HIM AS "ELOQUENT", A FEELING SHARED BY OTHER OBSERVERS. POLITICAL LEADERS IN THIS CATEGORY, MOST NOTABLY PRP, WERE GENERALLY PLEASED WITH IMPACT OF VISIT. COLIN EGLIN, PRP LEADER, FELT VISIT TO BE VERY USEFUL AND LIKED OPTIMISTIC TONE OF IT, PARTICULARLY YOUNG'S EXPRESSIONS OF FAITH IN SOUTH AFRICA, ITS ABILITY TO WORK OUT ITS PROBLEMS AND FACT USG DID NOT MEAN TO DICTATE SOLUTION. PRP NATIONAL CHAIRMAN RAY SWART, MENTIONED TO MISSION OFFICER USEFUL BY PRODUCT OF VISIT WAS OPPORTUNITY IT AFFORDED HIM TO MEET SO MANY OTHER PERSONS OF PROMINENCE AND TO ADVANCE DIALOGUE PROCESS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE. RESERVATIONS ON VISIT EXPRESSED AMONG LIBERALS HAVE CENTERED ON FEAR THAT COMBINED EFFECT OF YOUNG, MONDALE AND CARTER NOTRE DAME SPEECH WILL ONLY DRIVE SAG BACK INTO LAAGER.

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B. AFRIKAANS SPEAKING "VERLIGTES": THIS "ENLIGHTENED" ELEMENT OF AFRIKANERDOM, IN PARTICULAR BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES, ALSO VIEWED VISIT IN GENERALLY FAVORABLE LIGHT. PERSONALLY, MANY SAID CONTACT WITH YOUNG PROVOKED RETHINKING OF STEROTYPE IMAGES PREVIOUSLY HELD OF HIM. THESE PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS MAY IN PART EXPLAIN FACT THAT, ACCORDING TO OPPENHEIMER AIDE, BUSINESSMAN'S DINNER OF MAY 21 WAS PARTIALLY BOYCOTTED BY AFRIKAANS

SPEAKING ELEMENT. CERTAINLY SUBSEQUENT CONTACT BY MISSION OFFICERS HAS SHOWN THAT MANY VERLIGTE ELEMENTS, INCLUDING MORE LIBERAL NATIONALIST PARTY MEMBERS IN NATAL, FEEL THAT NON-VIOLENT APPROACH THROUGH PRESSURE ON BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS IS NOT ONLY SOMETHING THEY CAN SUPPORT, BUT, IN SOME CASES, IS VERY THING THEY'VE BEEN TRYING TO PROMOTE. ONE SOURCE HAS INDICATED THAT MEMBERS OF BUSINESS ADVISORY COUNCIL TO PRIME MINISTER, GROUP THAT INCLUDES AFRIKANERS, REPORTED FAVORABLY ON  
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BUSINESSMAN'S SPEECH TO PM. ON NEGATIVE SIDE, CONTACTS AMONGST THIS GROUP FEEL THAT YOUNG'S APPROACH, THOUGH WELL MEANING, MAY BE NAIVE. SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS "UNIQUE", THEY POINT OUT, AND SOLUTIONS APPLIED ELSEWHERE WILL NOT NECESSARILY WORK HERE. PARTICULAR MENTION IS MADE HERE OF NEGATIVE EFFECT OF BLACK BOYCOTT. SOME OF INITIAL ENTHUSIASM SHOWN IN THIS GROUP HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT DIMMED BY PRESS ACCOUNTS OF WHAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG IS ALLEGED TO HAVE SAID IN PRESS CONFERENCES AT OTHER STOPS ON HIS TRIP HOME.

C. NATIONALIST SUPPORTERS: REACTIONS AMONG NATIONALIST SUPPORTERS HAS RANGED FROM DEFENSIVE TO HOSTILE. ALTHOUGH MANY PRIVATELY ADMIT THAT YOUNG AS PERSON CAME ACROSS SINCERE AND DEDICATED, THEY FEEL, IN PART DUE TO THIS IMPRESSION, THAT THEY MUST TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE SOURCE STATED THAT IT LOOKED AS THOUGH YOUNG DID REFLECT SERIOUS AND DETERMINED THINKING BY CARTER ADMINISTRATION, WHICH WAS "TOO BAD". IMPLICATION WAS THAT SOURCE HAD HOPED YOUNG WAS SPEAKING ONLY FOR HIMSELF AND LIMITED CONSTITUENCY. MOST MODERATE COMMENT FROM THIS GROUP IS THAT YOUNG IS NAIVE AND DOES NOT UNDERSTAND EITHER SOUTH AFRICA OR THREAT OF COMMUNISM. MORE COMMON HAS BEEN POINT THAT YOUNG IS HOSTILE TO SOUTH AFRICA AND IS ENCOURAGING SOLUTION THAT WILL ONLY BRING CHAOS. ANOTHER REACTION NOTED HAS BEEN DEFENSIVE MECHANISM OF ACCUSING YOUNG OF INTERFERING IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND APPLYING DOUBLE STANDARDS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. OFT HEARD RESPONSE IS WHY DOESN'T US SOLVE ITS OWN RACIAL PROBLEMS OR CONDEMN "MINORITY RULED" GOVERNMENTS IN REST OF AFRICA OR COMMUNIST WORLD. MOST EXTREME COMMENT HEARD BY MISSION OFFICERS IS THAT YOUNG IS ANTI-WHITE. THIS VIEW STATES THAT HE REPRESENTS BLACK AMERICA'S ATTEMPTS TO SEEK REVENGE ON WHITES AND THEREFORE WANTS TO SEE WHITE MAN DENIED HIS RIGHT TO EXIST IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT APPEARS  
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THAT AVERAGE AFRIKANERS HAVE FALLEN PREY TO SOMEWHAT DISTORTED REPORTING BY SAG CONTROLLED MEDIA AND AFRIKAANS LANGUAGE PRESS. FOR INSTANCE, EXPLANATION YOUNG MADE ON MEANING OF FULL PARTICIPATION AND "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE" WAS NOT PICKED UP GENERALLY. ALSO, HIS REMARKS ON BLACK BOYCOTTS, BLACK STUDENTS AND NATIONALIST GROUPS WERE WIDELY INTERPRETED TO MEAN HE SUPPORTED VIOLENCE, WHICH ONE COLUMNIST CALLED "SHOT IN THE ARM TO BLACK MILITANTS."

4. BLACKS: ALMOST UNIVERSAL REACTION AMONG BLACKS HAS BEEN FAVORABLE ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN SOME CONFUSION AS TO EXACT SIGNIFICANCE OF MESSAGE YOUNG BROUGHT.

A. MODERATES: MODERATE BLACKS, INCLUDING CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI, ONLY HOMELAND LEADER TO MEET WITH YOUNG, HAVE BEEN OPENLY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT YOUNG VISIT. FIRST AND FOREMOST, THEY TAKE HIS PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HIS DESIRE TO MEET THEM AS INDICATIVE OF GROWING CONSTRUCTIVE INTEREST BY USG IN THEIR PLIGHT. THIS PERCEPTION OF NEW US CONCERN AND THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF YOUNG'S PERSONALITY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE OVERRIDING IMPRESSIONS LEFT WITH MODERATE BLACKS. ALTHOUGH MANY INVITEES GOT LITTLE OR NO CHANCE TO MEET SUBSTANTIVELY WITH YOUNG, THEY TOOK HIS VISIT AS MORALE BOOSTER AND WELCOMED CHANCE FOR PUBLIC EXPOSURE AND OPPORTUNITY OF EXCHANGES WITH OTHER COMMUNITY LEADERS. SOME SOURCES INDICATED THAT CONTACTS MADE MAY WELL CONTRIBUTE TO GOAL OF BLACK UNITY. CHIEF BUTHELEZI EXPRESSED GREAT SATISFACTION WITH OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOUNG AND THANKED USG FOR ASSISTANCE WITH TRANSPORT. PERCY QOBOZA, BLACK EDITOR OF WORLD TOLD MISSION OFFICER YOUNG REACHED MAINSTREAM OF BLACK BODY POLITIC AND ARTICULATED BLACK ASPIRATIONS WELL.

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OTHER BLACK SOURCES STATE THAT AVERAGE MAN-ON-STREET WAS GENERALLY EXCITED AT FACT BLACK MAN OF SUCH STATUS WAS REPRESENTING THEIR CONCERNS TO SAG. THIS OBSERVATION HAS BEEN SUPPORTED BY MISSION OFFICER CONTACTS AND OBSERVATIONS DURING VISIT. ONLY CRITICISM NOTED FROM MODERATE GROUP COMES FROM BLACK BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES, SOME OF WHOM HAVE QUESTIONED FEASIBILITY OF BLACK BOYCOTT AND EFFECTS IT WOULD HAVE ON BLACK COMMUNITY WELFARE. ALSO, BLACKS SEEMED UNCLEAR AS TO MEANING OF NEW USG ATTITUDE. ALTHOUGH THEY APPRECIATED US CONCERN, DETAILS OF PROGRAMS US MIGHT SUPPORT OR FOLLOW WERE LACKING. THERE WAS ALSO AN ECHO OF SOME WHITE CRITICISM THAT RACE PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS IN US MAY NOT DIRECTLY RELATE TO THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

B. BLACK MILITANTS: THERE WAS A PARTIAL BOYCOTT OF YOUNG VISIT BY BPC AND SASO BASED ON FACT THAT YOUNG DID  
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NOT REQUEST MEETING WITH "TRUE" BLACK LEADERS, I.E. MANDELA, SOBUKWE, ET AL. AT LEAST ONE BLACK MILITANT LEADER HAS SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLICLY CALLED VISIT CYNICAL US POSTURING. OTHERS HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED FEELING THAT YOUNG WAS SINCERE, BUT FELT HE MADE NEITHER RIGHT GESTURES TO BLACKS, I.E., SEE MANDELA OR SOBUKWE, NOR DID ANYTHING EXCEPT ALIENATE SAG, THEREBY MINIMIZING HIS EFFECT ON EITHER GROUP. GENERAL CRITICISM FROM MILITANTS HAS BEEN ON MAKEUP OF INVITATION LIST TO USIS RECEPTION, WHICH SOME SAY PRECLUDED YOUNG'S HEARING FROM OTHER THAN "BOARDROOM" BLACKS. BUTHELEZI'S DRAMATIC INTERJECTION IN USIS RECEPTION CAUSED SOME PERSONS TO WALK OUT AND ELICITED REMARKS FROM EVEN MODERATE PERSONS ON HIS POLITICAL SHOWMANSHIP AND EXPLOITING THE MEETING FOR PERSONAL ADVANTAGE. YOUNG'S MEETING WITH SSRC LEADERS WAS UNKNOWN TO OTHER MILITANTS IN ADVANCE. SINCE YOUNG'S DEPARTURE,

MISSION HAS HAD SOME EXPRESSIONS OF REGRET FROM BPC REPRESENTATIVES THAT THEY DID NOT GO AHEAD WITH THEIR MEETING. THIS MAY BE DUE IN PART TO INTER-GROUP RIVALRIES IF THEY LEARNED OF SSRC MEETING, BUT AT LEAST EQUALLY TO THEIR FAVORABLE REACTION TO MORE ACTIVIST STATEMENTS BY YOUNG PRIOR TO DEPARTURE.

5. GOVERNMENT: PUBLIC SAG REACTION TO YOUNG VISIT HAS BEEN MINIMAL. ASIDE FROM INTERIOR AND INFORMATION MINISTER MULDER'S ACCUSATION THAT YOUNG HAD BORKEN TERMS OF AGREEMENT (REFTEL), THERE HAS BEEN NO DIRECT COMMENT. SAG IS APPARENTLY TAKING VISIT AS PART OF OVERALL USG PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA AND PRELIMINARY RESPONSES HAVE BEEN IN FORM OF GENERAL STATEMENTS BY PM VORSTER AND FORMIN BOTHA RALLYING WHITES AROUND THEIR STAND AGAINST BASIC CHANGE AS URGED BY USG ADMINISTRATION (SEE CAPE TOWN 862). ACCUSATION THAT USG IS INCITING BLACK AGAINST WHITE SEEMS LEVELED AT YOUNG (SEE CAPE TOWN 864). CAMPAIGN TO APPEAL TO AMERICAN PUBLIC  
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FOR SUPPORT AGAINST "RACIST" APPROACH BY USG, ALONG WITH BOTHA'S MAY 22 STATEMENT THAT BLACK AMERICANS ARE "CLAIMING PAYMENT" FROM PRESIDENT CARTER IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CAPE TOWN 836), SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT SAG FEELS YOUNG IS PLAYING BIASED AND UNREPRESENTATIVE ROLE IN FORMULATION OF POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA.BOWDLER

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